1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[Niuatoputapu Island]

In the meantime Pungakaitafola lived with Fakaositahole (a woman from Tonga), and before she had any children she adopted a little boy named Vivili, and named him Tuise, as her first child to Pungakaitafola. Later she had a child to Pungakaitafola and its name was Tatafu.

3. Ikamafana I, fish boiling. Son of 2 and Siulolovao, daughter's daughter of Fotofili Alofi, king of Niuafoou.

4. Pungakaitafola, coral eating everywhere. Presumably older brother of 2.

5. Ikamafana II. Married Latutama, daughter of the Tui Haa Takalaua and Tui Kanokupolu Maealiuaki; hence ruled in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Maealiuaki was an old man in Cook's time. Latutama was mother of 6.

6. Ngongo, noddy. The first Christian king. Son of 5.

7. Seuilikalaekivalu, gallinule, calling eight times. This is an Uvean name. The reason for its application to the Niuatoputapu ruler was this: the fifth ruler Ikamafana II voyaged to Uvea with his son Ngongo and his daughter Veiongo. Ikamafana II was killed by the Uveans and Ngongo and his sister remained on that island. The daughter of the ruler of Uvea adopted Ngongo. Out of regard for Ngongo the remainder of the Niuatoputapu people who had accompanied him and his father to Uvea were not killed. Veiongo was taken from Uvea to Vavau and married Ulukalala (III or IV). The son of Ulukalala and Veiongo was Matekitonga, the father of the present Ulukalala.

8. U. Latumailangi, who was the ruling chief in 1862 and who died by 1877.

9. Joel Kivalu who died May 14, 1894.

10. John Panuve, the informant, son of 9. He died in 1923(?). The name Panuve is Fijian.

On June 4, 1862, Niuatoputapu was formally joined to the kingdom of Tonga by agreement, although in the days when the Tui Tonga flourished Niuatoputapu was regarded as a part of the kingdom. Evidently in the stormy days in the early part of the nineteenth century Niuatoputapu had attained a considerable degree of independence. Even at the present time the status of Maatu in relation to the ruler of the entire kingdom is somewhat different from that of most chiefs. The late premier Tui Vakano said that Maatu was virtually a king and appointed his own chiefs. At the present time the chief under Maatu is Tangipa, which is a title created by Maatu. Evidently there were other titles earlier, for it is reported of Ngongo that upon returning from Uvea he overcame the local chiefs of both Niuatoputapu and Tafahi Island, and "extinguished all lineages (*haa*) except his own."

Thomson, in telling of the visit of Schouten and Lemaire to Niuatoputapu relates that a man was struck in the breast by shot fired wantonly by the Dutch. According to the Maatu whom I interviewed this man's name was Tauvaka, a name which has continued down to the present day as a chiefly title which is bestowed by Maatu. It is said that the original form of this name was somewhat different, being Taukuoaka meaning fighting power taken root. This name was bestowed originally by an early chief upon one of his followers who aided in conquering Niuatoputapu.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

TONGAN RELIGION

SOURCE OF INFORMATION

My notes on the ancient religion of Tonga are scant, as might well be expected 75 years after the complete Christianization of the country. The material here presented is in part supplementary to that already published (26). Some of it is amplification of published materials by Collocott and others.

Collocott (9, pp. 152-163, 227-240) has so thoroughly portrayed the characteristics of the principal gods of Tongatabu that there is little left to do except supplement his account with further details. Farmer (23, pp. 125-146) also gives a brief sketch of the principal Tongan gods and of the functions of the priests. Most of Farmer's information was obtained from the Reverend John Thomas, a Methodist missionary. The nature of the gods is well handled by Mariner, Farmer, and Collocott.

PULOTU

Pulotu, the unseen world, and domain of the god or goddess Hikuleo (23, p. 132), was believed to lie to the westward and to be reached by sea. A number of stories are told of voyages (26, p. 153) to Pulotu. There seems to be a certain tendency among modern Tongans to identify Pulotu with the underworld, Lolofonua. Pulotu is also identified by some modern informants with the cemetery or graveyard. Anciently, it was thought that a living man might visit Pulotu to recover a dead wife (26, p. 183), and that Hikuleo would assemble the spirits so that the wife might be selected, also that Hikuleo would then re-animate the visitor, so that he might return to the earth.

Among modern Tongans who regard Pulotu as equivalent to the underworld, two entrances are pointed out. One of them consists of a deep hole on the island of Koloa, Vavau, a hole which mythology says was the opening by which fire was brought from the underworld to this world by Maui Kisikisi. The second opening to Pulotu, in its modern identification with the underworld, is through the volcano in the island of Tofua. People who formerly lived on Tofua report that whenever someone died in the Haapai Islands, crying or singing would be heard at the volcano. If crying is heard to-day it is interpreted to mean a dead sinner; if singing, a good Christian on his way to Pulotu. There are three divisions of Pulotu called Pulotu Tete, Pulotu Akaaka, and Pulotu Tuumau. The following quotation is from Watkin (61):

> They have some idea of the future existence of the soul, but it is obscure indeed. There exist notions among them which savour something of the Hindoo notion of successive births in the future world, two deaths awaiting them after that endured in this world when they are freed from further mutation. The heaven they calculate

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

lenga, so that it fell into the sea. The place where it slid over the edge of the cliff is marked by a deep groove, through which soil and stone have slid into the sea. (See also 16, p. 8.)

At Matalanga in Utungake, Vavau, are a series of perpendicular holes or caves in the coral bedrock, which are said likewise to have been made by Maui thrusting in his digging stick. In the sea close by are two very smooth rocks, called Niumano and Moso, the larger being not more than 30 feet in diameter, said to be transformed sons of Maui. A plant *tepilo a Maui* (wind of Maui), common in Tonga, is associated with Maui. The plant, when in flower, smells like human excrement and is said to have acquired this characteristic because a branch of it was used by Maui as a wiper.

On the part of the weather shore of Uiha called Likutapu (so called because a Tui Tonga is said to be buried there, in a small langi) is a hollow stone called the kava bowl of Maui.

Hikuleo

Hikuleo, the great deity of Pulotu, whom Farmer (23, p. 132) connects with the Tui Tonga, is believed to manifest himself often at the present time. Thus, if fishermen return without a catch, it is a sign that Hikuleo has been at work with his great net, and that therefore no fish will enter the nets of mortals. Then the fishermen flee in fear. The particular locality where this is believed to occur is the inland waters of such lagoons as that of Tongatabu. Mamea, the Mother Superior of the convent at Maufanga, Tongatabu, contributed this information about Hikuleo's fishing. She stated, also, that there died about 1905 an old woman of Maufanga who claimed that she was frequently transported to the smaller outer islands by a god and then subsequently brought back. I do not know if this god was Hikuleo.

I was unable to settle the matter of the sex of Hikuleo in her (or his) role of deity of Pulotu, some informants made the deity masculine, others feminine (26). It is not improbable that, like Fehuluni, Hikuleo was bisexual. Caillot (7, p. 243) regards Hikuleo as a male deity, as do most other writers.

At the site of the present town of Haano, Haapai, there once stood a temple of Hikuleo. The temple was called Falemee. It was located on a tract called Fanakava. The priest of the goddess was named Manakoto, and her sacred animal was the sea snake (*tukuhali*). This temple was a famous place of refuge. If a person became sick, his relatives went to Manakoto and cut off little finger joints to make him well. Bodies of executed persons were taken to Manakoto. If Manakoto were angry a human sacrifice might be made to him, the sight of which made him happy. The following anecdote is told:

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[Lifuka Island]

South of the mound Lefelefevalu is a stone called Anganganiofae, which is said to be natural in formation but which looks like a fish having the head of a stingray (*fai*) and the tail of a shark (*anga*).

Deities of Lifuka Island

Aloalo seems to have been an important Haapai god with his sanctuary on the tract Fanganonu in Pangai, Lifuka Island. He seems to have been especially a weather god and was also consulted concerning future events.

The temple of the god was a Tongan house, one end of which was screened off with cane (*koho*). The god was represented by a whale's tooth (*lei*) which was kept in this compartment covered by a fine mat (*kie*). "He stayed alone like a king and no one was with him." People who came to consult the god waited outside the house. They brought with them presents of food which they left in the anteroom of the house just within the entrance, but away from the compartment where the god dwelt. Food that was left by departing visitors would be found to have entirely disappeared upon their return and this was true even if the food was a hundred pound pig.

If people planned to voyage from Haapai to Tongatabu they brought food to Aloalo and inquired as to the most propitious time for setting sail. The god would tell them whether they should leave immediately or later, in order to enjoy good weather all of the way. He might also instruct the voyagers as to the most propitious time to return from Tongatabu. If they failed to regard his instructions they were likely to meet with mishap.

The "boat" of the god was the white tern (*tala*). When people went shark fishing they followed the god's bird so they might be led to a good fishing ground. The bird of the god seems to have been a captive white tern with a string tied to its foot. Today the white tern is still used as an indicator of good fishing grounds.

The god manifested himself by causing the whale's tooth to move or shake. However, prior to the shaking, a yellow butterfly, appearing at the front door of the god's house, indicated that the deity would shortly appear in the whale's tooth. The appearance of the yellow butterfly was to inform the priest of the god's impending visit. The people in general were apprised and would come to pray on such an occasion, particularly those people who had illness. It is said that the butterfly was not the god himself, but merely the messenger of the god.

Aloalo not only predicted the weather but he could also govern it, for example, being able to stop excessive rains when prayed to do so by the people. Aloalo's priest was called Vavanga (literally "to know everything"). He served as intermediary between the supplicants and the god. After the appearance of the yellow butterfly and the movements of the whale's tooth the god entered the priest, who would be convulsed by trembling. While in this state he delivered the message of the god to the people. The priest when inspired was seated, not reclining. The district in which the tract of the god was located was called Ahau, a name which refers to the ruling chief.

The daughter's son of the last priest Vavanga was living at the site in 1920, and my informant was himself the son's son of Vavanga. There was another sanctuary of Aloalo near the northern end of Lifuka Island at the village of Holopeka.

Aloalo went the same way as the rest of the Haapai gods when Taufaahau set out to destroy them. The priest of the god fled, however, so that he escaped the fate of other priests and priestesses who were put to death by Taufaahau.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[Lifuka Island]

An informant, Josiah Paluto of Pangai, Lifuka, gave me the following account of the god Ngaohaa: 776 [115]

The priestess much consulted by the chiefs of Pangai, Lifuka, was an old woman named Melaia who resided at Holopeka, on a tract that is situated in the hereditary lands of Tui Afitu, who lives in Vavau. The priestess resided in a heathen temple by herself and she was very powerful (mighty), "just like God"; for she was able to accomplish many things. She served the god Ngaohaa, who was also the deity of Fonoifua Island, which likewise belongs to Tui Afitu. [It seems likely that the god was Tui Afitu's tutelary deity.] 776 793

If she said it would rain, rain came. If she said it would blow hard, it did so. The people used to go to consult her. If a voyage was about to be undertaken and the priestess said it would blow, the voyage was abandoned for that day; but she would direct the people upon which day to sail, as the wind would be favorable on that day. If oil-making was to be done by the chiefs, the priestess would be asked if the weather would be fine or wet. If she said it would be fine, the oil-making was undertaken, but if she said it would be wet, the oil-making was deferred. 776 793 821 484 793 821

If a chief's child was sick, the child and a woman would be taken to the priestess and a finger cut off of the woman and offered as a sacrifice. The priestess would then be asked about the child's chances of recovery. The priestess would reply: "You must await the god's appearance." As they sat and waited they would see the priestess tremble and suddenly the god would appear in the form of a gecko (*moko*). The priestess would exclaim: "The god has appeared and you may return in peace, as the chief's offspring will live." The signs were easily read and depended upon the appearance or non-appearance of the god. 776 793 787 755 [782]

At other times chiefs would go to the priestess to consult as to future events. Melaia would say: "Wait here until the god appears." Presently he would appear, but the first thing the chiefs would notice would be the trembling of Melaia, who at the same time would bring up green vomit. Afterwards Melaia would say: "Chiefs and people, listen well to me. The god did damage last night. He ate man. Now these are the instructions to you. You chiefs can leave this place and rest. Come back tomorrow. In the meantime, the god and I will hold a consultation as to the reason of these recent happenings." 776 793 787

On one occasion Melaia consulted the god, who said to her: "This is what you must tell to the chiefs and people when they come tomorrow: One of the Tui Tonga's vessels left last night, but met with disaster enroute. A matapule of the Tui Tonga was coming on an errand for him; namely, to take away the Tui Haa Takalaua's daughter. As the vessel is wrecked, the message has not been delivered and the Tui Tonga's matapule is lost, he who is the son of Paku. He and many others were swallowed by a man-eating shark (*tenifa*). When the shark was opposite Holopeka it jumped ashore. Then the gecko went and ate the shark." Afterwards the gecko vomited through Melaia and it was green blood he vomited. The loss of the Tui Tonga's vessel had been unknown to the chiefs until Melaia informed them.

This was the answer that Melaia gave to the people the next day, saying: "This is what has happened regarding what you wanted to know."

Another informant, Ana Manu of Holopeka, had this to say regarding Ngaohaa: [115]

The people prayed and made obeisance to this god. There was a house for the god in the town of Holopeka. The situation of the house was called Tave, and the holy place (*potu tapu*) was called Pava. It was strictly prohibited for anyone to enter the place in which was the god. A basket was placed in the shrine. In it were a throwing club and a whale's tooth, which were wrapped in a piece of tapa (*fetaaki*) smeared with turmeric on the outside. 776 778

Should people come to pray to the god they remained outside and expressed their [782]

5: Gifford OU9 Tonga OU9

115
124
127
128

[For scattered references to informants' names, documentary sources, and translators, see Category 116.]

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

Dracaena (possibly the leaf and streamer girdle, *sigi*), or whether it is *sii* (as written), the common, usually untranslatable, word of affection.

3. Fetoa and Toloke are evidently localities represented by the suitors.

4. The champion of Veifefe is Vaenuku, from Eua. Veifefe is the name of a tiny stream in Eua. The word is also written Veefefe.

Page 51. The transformation of Vaenuku's brother

1. This is the usual ceremonious and apologetic way of commencing speech; *uta* (shore) means the dwellers in the land; *kau*, the comers to the festival at which the poem is recited.

Page 52. Auka and Talataiva

1. There is a well-known proverb, *Ko ho'o foui ne foi*, "Your *foui* did it," equivalent to "It is your own fault."

2. This needless betrayal of an illicit amour seems strange, but with it may be compared the painting of brides with turmeric during the marriage ceremony. I have heard, though without much confirmation, that husbands sometimes safeguarded the fidelity of their wives during their absence by painting their bellies with turmeric. Obliteration of the design was evidence of unfaithfulness. Is there, behind all this, a blood ritual connected with sexual intercourse?

3. There is a well-known proverb, *tuanaki Auka* (relying on Auka) which indicates misplaced confidence (17, no. 552).

Page 58. How the vete was taken to Hihifo

1. Haitau is called also Mufutaaetau (8, p. 228).

Page 59. Flea and nit go fishing

The *matakelekele* is said to be a very strange-looking fish. For Samoa, Krämer gives *mataeleele* as *filoa* before it is fully grown (26, vol. 2, pp. 417, 419). There are indications that the *matakelekele* was once worshipped, a very intelligent informant saying that he heard a man say that sacrifices were taken to it.

2. Haapepe and Haatafu are names of localities in Tonga. The not infrequent occurrence in names of *pepe* (butterfly) suggests that there may have been once a butterfly clan.

Pages 59-61. The club-footed children

1. In the course of the story three words used of supernatural beings are used of the demon: *nifoloa*, *faahikehe*, and *tevolo*.

2. It would seem that the success of an incantation, or invocation, was achieved by preceding it by the word *tuputupu-le-fanua*. The form of the word is Samoan rather than Tongan, but it apparently is not known in Samoa, as it is not in Pratt's Dictionary. Tregear (34) defines Tuputupuwhenua as "a celebrated divine or semi-divine personage mentioned in Polynesian traditions. He is also called Tumutumu-whenua." Thus the incantation may have been originally an appeal to the being mentioned by Tregear.

3. The rock wall can hardly be an original feature in a Tongan story. This feature may be borrowed, or introduced lately, or the story itself may be a borrowed one into which some Tongan ideas are introduced. The mother's shame at the deformity of her children is characteristic. Tongans are more sensitive to physical blemishes than are Europeans.

Page 61. Tafakula and the origin of the papaya

1. The sandalwood (*ahi*) of a ruddy brown color, is said to be especially associated with this goddess (8, p. 237).

Page 61. The Samoan and the Tongan exchange gifts

1. The depreciatory effect of the reduplication of *niu* (nut) can perhaps be best rendered by the use of "near" in the sense in which it has become familiar as applied to beer. I heard this story told by Professor A. R. Brown, now of Sydney University.

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

172 349 A cross section of each of the two shafts and of the lintel approaches a rectangular parallelogram. The upright pieces are placed with their long lateral faces roughly parallel to each other and approximately extending north-south. They rise from their foundations gradually tapering inward toward the top, a feature more accentuated in the western column.

At the approximate center of each upright piece is a vertical square-cut mortise of sufficient width to allow the lintel to slip into it edgewise with several inches of play on either side, and of sufficient depth to bring the top edge of the lintel to a common plane with the tops of the columns. This common plane is not level, as the western column is 1.5 feet higher than the eastern. The ends of the lintel are practically even with the outer sides of the uprights.

The central upper surface of the lintel is marked by a shallow circular depression of small diameter, smoothly regular in outline and obviously artificial.

It was determined by excavations at selected places that the bases of the upright pieces extend at least two feet into the ground. Fear that the structure would fall prevented further exposure of the foundations.

[127] There is an unpublished account of excavations made by Mr. Ames, the first Wesleyan teacher in this district, to determine the depth of the foundations. According to his testimony, as supported by eye witnesses, the base of each upright is mortised into limestone bedrock and the space left between mortise and tenon packed with small limestone chips. A fear that the removal of these chips would weaken the stability of the structure prevented his determining the true depth to which the great shafts of stone penetrate.

That the uprights are well anchored is shown by the fact that the massive roots of a large *ovava* tree shaped themselves about the base of the western stone shaft, without budging its position. King George I Tupou had the tree removed in order to preserve the monument. It has been estimated that the visible portions of the two uprights weigh each between 30 and 40 tons.

172 349 173 644 [115] The following account of the origin and construction of the Haamonga was obtained from an old chieftain, Tamale of Haameniuli, Tongatabu, who is the direct descendant in a long line of chieftains closely associated with the Tui Tonga and is fulfilling the duty of keeping in memory the great deeds of the kings. The peculiar official duties of this family are said to have been inaugurated at a time preceding the reign of Tuitatui.

172 349 173 643 Tuitatui was the Tui Tonga who built the trilithon. That was at a time preceding the removal of the king's house to Lapaha (now Mua). Tuitatui had established himself at Heketa near the site of the Haamonga. The trilithon was erected as a monument to his two sons; Lafa was the elder and Talaihaapepe the younger. The structure had the symbolical significance of representing the two sons in the upright shafts, the eastern and western columns respectively symbolizing the elder and younger son. The lintel uniting the columns represented the inseparable bond of brotherhood uniting these two great men. It seems that the Tui Tonga was afraid that there would be a rupture between his sons after he was gone and erected the monument as a lasting protest against such a possibility.

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

In this manner was the Haamonga built. All the common men of Heketa and many men from the outlying districts of Tongatabu were assembled. The stones, of a variety called *oheha* (coral limestone), were cut out from the cliff face on the shoreline just north of the site selected for the structure. This is the kind of stone that forms the bedrock for all this part of the island. When the three great stones had been shaped, they were dragged over wooden skids, by means of heavy ropes and the combined muscular power of many men, to the construction site. The two pits where the columns were to stand were then dug. There followed the erecting of a perpendicular retaining wall of trees and brush, situated closely parallel to the line of the two excavations. This wall constituted the vertical front of an earthen mound or inclined plane of a height sufficient to serve in the following manner. The two uprights were dragged over skids, endwise and prone on edge, up the slope of the artificial incline. Besides the wooden skids and ropes, the implements employed included blocking wedges and levers, to be used in emergencies. At the top of the incline the stones were projected over the edge of the vertical retaining wall until nicely balanced, and then carefully directed to fall endwise, while guided by ropes, into the pits prepared for them. This done, the lintel was transported up the incline in the same manner, but with the lateral edge foremost, and directed to drop into the mortises in the tops of the upright pieces. Then the earthen incline was removed, leaving the trilithon in position. A large irregular pile of earth in the near neighborhood of the monument is said to be the material removed in leveling the construction mound.

Tamale's account of origin and construction is so detailed and logical, coming as it does from a very old man who neither speaks nor reads any language other than his own and who is highly respected by natives and Europeans alike as an authority on the traditional history of his district, that it must be accepted as a weighty part of the available evidence.

The name Haamongaamaui (*haamonga*, the burden carried on a carrying-stick called *haamo;* a, of; Maui, a god and culture hero) is probably derived from the myth according to which Maui Kisikisi brought the trilithon from Uvea to Tonga, carrying it on his shoulders. It has been argued that this myth indicates that the stones constituting the structure were brought from Uvea. While such a feat may have been possible, a preponderance of the available evidence stands against it. It is a common thing in Tonga to find mythological origins ascribed to things of known historical origin. Furthermore, limestone employed in the structure is identical with the country rock immediately surrounding the monument, while Uvea is basicly volcanic in formation.

It is hard to see just how the trilithon would tend to decrease the possibility of dissension between the two sons of Tuitatui without including a belief in sympathetic magic. The two columns were named after the two sons and it is possible that the belief existed that as long as the two representations of the brothers were united by the lintel-piece, there could be no breaking of brotherly relations. According to Gifford (11) Tuitatui reigned in the early part of the eleventh century.

Prince Tungi believes that the Haamonga was erected for playing a game called *kopai kolo*. The existing structure may have been used in playing

9: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1922 OU9 Tonga OU9

The stars listed for the three sky zones are arranged in the order given in Tukuaho's diary. I am indebted to Mr. E. W. Gifford for the following sailing directions given by the chief Maatu of Keppel Island, which lies far north of the main part of the Tongan group:

> In sailing south to Tongatabu, steer by Haliatoloa, Lua-ae-tangata, and Faipa.
>
> In sailing north to Keppel Island, steer by Faipa, Aloua (two-oared boat), Telengehe, Fatanalua, Tupa, Tuutangaufi, and Vai-utu-ki-tua (water carried outside) of which a variant is Utufi-ki-tua (carried outside).

It will be noted that most of the stars named by Maatu are included among those mentioned on the preceding pages but that Maatu's list does not follow the same order as the list arranged by Tukuaho. No living Tongan known to me is able to point out the various stars named, but I am of the opinion that for a conjectural reconstruction of the system the order given by Tukuaho can be followed with confidence.

THE SUN

When the sun sets it is said by the Tongans to go down to Lolofonua, the Underworld, the abode of the Maui, whence it issues at its rising, but I have been able to find no explanation of the sun's daily journey nor of its path between the Tropics. If native accounts existed of these phenomena they are entirely or almost forgotten. One informant said he had heard a story of the reason of the sun's setting but had forgotten it.

It is said that someone named Loau, who lived long before the Loau of Haamea in Tongatabu so famous in Tongan tradition, traveled to Samoa and thence to Tonga in search of the sun. But beyond this bare mention I have heard nothing of this personage and his quest.

A Tongan tradition connects Jinilau with the sun—Jinilau being said to be the son of the sun and a mortal woman. Throughout Polynesia there is an association of Jinilau with Hina, and the Tongan tradition states that Hina was married to Jinilau. Clouds on the eastern horizon at sunrise are said to be placed there to ensure privacy for the sun and Jinilau as they talk together.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

797 Christians from the heathen. If the heathen were the
798 aggressors, why do we always find them in the position of besieged rather than of besiegers? If, on the other hand, they were simply fighting for liberty to dissent from the majority, they can scarcely have been the aggressors; and indeed for persons fighting "for the express purpose of destroying their king, whom they hated on account of his religion, and of slaughtering all his Christian subjects," they showed a singular neglect of their own interests, for they allowed King Aleamotu to return to his friends after he had voluntarily placed himself within their power. With questions such as these to solve, the reader feels that if he accepts the statement that the civil war in Tonga was the work of the "great enemy of God and man," he must also admit that, with diabolical cunning, the devil chose the pious missionaries as his instruments for producing strife.

If the missionaries succeeded in blinding themselves regarding the origin of these wars, they did not deceive
[115] the natives. In October 1893 it was my good fortune to find Akesa, the daughter of Lavaka, chief of Bea, still living in Fiji as a pensioner-servant of a mission family, —bright-eyed and intelligent for all her seventy years. From her relationship to the chief of the heathen party, she had been selected by King George to carry messages to and from the enemy, and had been present both at the death of Captain Croker and the fall of Bea. She began her narrative with the words, "You must know that there were three wars to make the heathen turn to Christianity."

Besides the missionaries there was but one writer who was an eye-witness of the disturbances of 1840. Com-

16: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1921 OU9 Tonga OU9

the inspired priest have been more than once described. Very few contemporary Tongans have witnessed the performance, but I have been fortunate enough to hear from a very intelligent elderly chief a graphic description of the inspiration of a priest which he witnessed in his boyhood. This was in one of the last retreats of the old worship, and the wild awe of the scene, enhanced by the darkness of night, and a double row of lights at the end of which the priest sat, looking down a lane flanked on either hand by fire, has left an indelible impression on the old gentleman's mind. Amongst other things he noted the voracious appetite of the priest, who was a Fijian of ordinary stature, but who, under the influence of the divine frenzy devoured a great bunch of bananas or plantains. The native theory is that the inspiring god in some way eats the food. Another extraordinary circumstance was the manner of his speech. Usually this Fijian spoke bad Tongan in a small weak voice, but during his inspiration his voice was rich and full, and his utterances couched in eloquent and faultless Tongan, "like a Belehake," as the native idiom has it.

The appetite of the priest, to which the natives nowadays sometimes make caustic reference, seems to have been a fairly constant factor or inspiration, but presents of food, an indispensable accompaniment of a ceremonious visit to a chief, would naturally be taken by worshippers waiting on their god. *Kava*, always presented to a chief on a ceremonial occasion, was also taken to the gods. The initial rite of worship was a *kava* drinking. A ceremonial *kava* drinking is a presentation to some person, usually the greatest chief in the gathering. If a number of people pay a visit to a chief they take *kava* to him, some of which will be prepared and drunk then and there, though all may not share in it. The visiting party and the chief to whom the visit is made, with his retainers, will drink together, precedence in drinking being strictly observed in accordance with rank, although the order is not a merely numerical one; for example, the third bowl is very commonly the most chiefly of all, and even further down, the fifth or seventh, etc., may take precedence of those earlier in the list. The due ordering of these matters is one of the things in which the chiefs' *matabules*, or gentlemen attendants, are expected to possess expert knowledge. Another prized qualification of a *matabule* is a full clear voice with which to call, in a kind of loud intonation, the person to whom the bowl is to be taken, the number of baskets of food presented, to whom the several portions are to be taken when the distribution is made, and the like matters. The chief to whom the *kava* drinking is a presentation is marked by his having the most chiefly bowl, commonly, though not always, the third, taken to him to drink, and a slight change in the words with which the *matabule* calls that bowl. In the case of the *kava* drinking with which

16: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1921 OU9 Tonga OU9

II.—INDIVIDUAL GODS.

Bulotu Katoa. Bulotu was the Tongan Paradise. As already related its chief deity was Hikuleo, but it was the home also of spirits of the departed, evidently only of chiefs and great people, to whom perhaps some sort of worship was paid. Sometimes one hears of a being called Tui Bulotu, i.e., King of Bulotu, but of him I have been able to learn nothing. Mariner calls him a minor god of the sea and of voyages, and protector of Finau's family. Tuivakano, the Premier of Tonga, suggests that some of the gods mentioned by Mariner are really the illustrious dead. In spite of the name Tui Bulotu there does not seem any reason to disturb the sovereignty of Hikuleo in Bulotu, home of wondrous plenty, of the life-giving water, Vai-Ola, Water of Life, into which the spirits of the dead seem to have been dipped to restore them to life and the power of enjoying the delights of their paradise, and of other marvels.

Bulotu Katoa, i.e., the whole of Bulotu, was the grandiloquent name of a great deity whose principal shrine was at Boha, in the eastern part of Tongatabu. This eastern district, though not now the seat of the capital, is the chiefly centre of the ancient polity, the residence of the Tui Tonga, the Tui Haatakalaua, and other great lords. To Bulotu Katoa the whole of Tonga resorted, the Tui Tonga alone staying at home. I have heard him spoken of as the god of the great warrior chiefs, the Tui Kanokupolu, who in process of time and change supervening on the coming of the European have displaced the Tui Tonga, but the real position seems rather to have been that whoever for the time being was most powerful, whether the Tui Kanokupolu or another chief, took the lead in national supplication to this great god, to avert the calamities of hurricane, drought, and famine. As a matter of fact Kuku, a very ancient and blue-blooded chief, was most intimately associated with the worship of Bulotu Katoa, and two related chiefs, Tamale (the present holder of this title has given me the best information about this and many other matters; his repute as a depository of ancient lore is probably more widely recognised than that of any living Tongan), and Ma'olo distributed the offerings brought to the god. The name of the priest was Takahi. When *kava* was presented to Bulotu Katoa the Tui Kanokupolu sat with the ring of outsiders at a distance from the *kava* bowl and the leaders of the ceremony.

The dog was the sacred animal of this god, and during his worship a dog lay at the side of the priest. It was customary to use the word *kuli* (dog) in names of Nuku's family. There is a proverbial expression pretty closely parallel to our English "Let sleeping dogs lie," which is said to have had its first application to the dog of Bulotu Katoa.

16: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1921 OU9 Tonga OU9

of later date. The Maui stories may indicate a later wave of immigration. If the Vavau of myth could be identified, at least as far as the Tongan islands are concerned, with the present Vavau in the north of the group, it may be the stopping-place of a wave of Polynesian settlers who found the southern parts of the group already occupied by earlier Polynesian immigrants, or by non-Polynesian people. It is evident that free communication with Fiji is of old date. Various relationships with Fiji are manifest. The language shows layers or words which have come by way of Fiji, of which some have undergone the orthodox morphological modification, and some have not. Possibly the whole question will never be capable of other than conjectural solution. In concluding this very important note on Tongan religion I desire to express my obligations to Tangi, the Tui Haa-takalaua and Consort of Queen of Tonga, to Tuivakano, the Premier, to the chiefs Ata, Ahomee, and Tamale, to the Revs. J. Havea, J. Taufa, H. Talia, and E. Tubou, all of the Methodist Mission, to Buleti, Havili, Fatai and many others who have gladly given such information as they were able about matters of which the recollection is fast fading. I have constantly used also the valuable, but all too small, collection of material in the late Dr. Moulton's Magazine, of which a large part was written by the late David Tonga. I desire also to express my obligations to the Rev. R. O. G. Pope, Chairman of the Methodist Mission, and to Mr. E. W. Gifford, of the University of California, who visited Tonga under the auspices of the Bishop Museum, Honolulu, from August 1920, to May, 1921.

25: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

THE TU'I KANOKUPOLU'S KAVA-RING.

I have been an onlooker on several occasions when the present Queen, Her Majesty Queen Salote Tupou, has drunk *kava* with her chiefs, including that of her installation as queen, and am, moreover, greatly indebted to Ata, the chief whose duty it is to see that the ritual is properly carried out, for information he has given me. The Tu'i Kanokupolu is the head of the Ha'a Ngata, the House of Ngata, and in the full gathering are chiefs of the Ha'a Ngata, the Ha'a Havea, an offshoot of the Ha'a Ngata, the Ha'a Latuhifo, who are of the blood of the Tu'i Tonga, the Ha'a Vaea, which is called a representative name, *hingoa fakafofonga*, of the Tu'i Ha'a-takalaua, and whose chief is Luani. There was a Tu'i Ha'a-takalaua named Vaea, and this house is perhaps descended from him. There are also two houses which are junior branches of the Ha'a Ngata, the Ha'a Ma'afu, and the Ha'a Ngata tupu, derivative Ha'a Ngata. This latter is comparatively recent, and its prominence dates from the Finau of Mariner's account. Finau, whom Mariner wrongly regards as the king of the group, was the head of this junior branch. It is difficult to give the word *ha'a* precision of meaning as tribe, clan, or house. Besides its application to the noble houses it is applied to other associations of people joined together by community of interest, blood, or occupation. However, its application to the great noble houses, each including several titled chiefs, is well understood.

The following diagram illustrates the structure of the *kava*-ring, and the principal positions in it—

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

Conclusion

However great a wanderer a man may have been during his lifetime it is amongst his own kin that he wishes to sleep his last sleep. The gods of a country not his own would resent his being laid in their soil and would attempt to drive him away. The unlucky exile, therefore, would appear to his relatives in dreams and upbraid them for their unkind behavior in leaving him to the fury of such persecutions, and would probably soon worry them into making the desired transference of his ashes. It can be very rarely, however, that the deceased is driven to these desperate measures, as the Tongan observes the most scrupulous care in the disposal of his dead. There is a curious story of one who left his body and visited Bulotu (Paradise, Hades, Abode of Hikuleo). He was absent some time, and on returning to the spot where he had left his body found that his friends, despairing of his ever again animating it, had buried it. Since then he has wandered a discarnate spirit, known as a god in Tonga, Fiji, and Samoa under the respective names of Fehuluni, Tuihaatala, and Moso; and with this disembodied vagrant we shall for the present leave the subject.

Some acknowledgments of indebtedness have been already made in the text, but in closing these notes I desire to acknowledge my special obligations to my friend and colleague the Rev. John Havea, Head Master of the Tubou College in Nukualofa, whose intelligent interest in all that concerns his race, and courteous patience in trying to make it intelligible to the foreigner, have equally made me his debtor.

Tubou College,
Nukualofa, Tonga.

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

175 the Haveatungua is traditionally linked with the island of
361 Tungua, which is part of the noble's estate in Ha'apai.
[365] Thus it was not until the second half of the nineteenth century that the present settlement of the village can be said to have begun.

Shortly before the turn of the century, according to
361 both Fatafehi and Hūfangalupe, two old people (a man and a
621 woman, not related) who were living in Motulahi at that
115 time and who are reputed to manatu lelei (remember well), the village comprised a total of fewer than ten households. Today, out of a total of 145 households, 75 households in the village are headed by descendants of those few house-
[115] holds. There were still only ten households in Motulahi in 1919, according to Pulotu, a third informant, who had moved to Motulahi in that year as a newly-married young man seeking land. It is not clear how many people this included, as households were reckoned by each of the three informants mainly by reference to the names of the heads of the households. However, the three lists of names are in substantial agreement if we allow for certain
[127] accountable changes between 1900 and 1919. Twelve years later, in 1931, according to a police census taken that year (Wood 1932), there were 159 people living in Motulahi. This probably means no fewer than fifteen nor more than thirty households in 1931.

59: Kaeppler E-5 (1964-1967) 1971 OU9 Tonga OU9

9. Men and women form separate kava circles to avoid *tuofefine* ("sisters") and *tuonga'ane* ("brothers") being in the same circle, which would considerably restrict the topics of conversation.
10. For example, if a man's eldest sister is not available, any sister can play the required role.
11. This innovation has tended to complicate rank even further by introducing a kind of "estate system," in which the organizing principle is land tenure and land rights.
12. Most commoners say that they do not belong to a *ha'a;* however, they can often trace their relationship to a chief and know to which *ha'a* he belongs. This may be because Tongans are usually quite modest, not claiming *ha'a* membership because "such things are affairs of the chiefs."
13. This version was given on a school radio broadcast in 1966, and is common knowledge among most Tongan adults.
14. The names of the two divisions refer to their original geographical placement. The Kauhala'uta lived on the inland (*'uta*) side of the road, while the Kauhalalalo lived on the lower or ocean side of the road, in order to protect the Tu'i Tonga and his people. The data presented in this section are mainly from the Honorable Ve'ehala, a chief of Ha'a Ngata Motu'a; Sister Augustino, a descendant of the Tu'i Kanokupolu line; and a book of genealogies belonging to the present-day descendant of the Tu'i Tonga line.
15. See Figure 1.
16. At one of the last society-wide events which included dances (the coronation of the present king on July 4, 1967) the Tu'i Ha'ateiho's village did dance at the *mala'e* of the Tu'i Tonga. They were not, however, dancing for the descendant of the Tu'i Tonga, but for the Fijians who were guests at his home for the coronation, and the Tu'i Ha'ateiho was thus activating his Fijian relationships. Most of the villagers dancing did not know why they were dancing at the home of the Tu'i Tonga, only that they should not be doing so. In this case it was necessary not only to have the participants' point of view but also the societal point of view in order to understand the formal significance of this dance presentation.
17. The Falefa were the original *mātapule* (ceremonial attendants) and, because of their celestial origin, form a separate class. Later *mātapule* were recruited from the *tu'a* (commoners) or brought from Samoa.
18. Ha'a Ngana, which includes Tu'i Ha'a Ngana and Malupō, originated by segmentation from the twentieth Tu'i Tonga as shown here. Today, however, they are included in Falefisi. Note that the origin of Ha'a Ngana and Fale Fisi presented here differs considerably from Gifford (1929: 34). However, Gifford (1929: 39), is not consistent.
19. Note that the present King and his brother are heads not only of two different *ha'a* but of *ha'a* in two different divisions, demonstrating that societal inheritance is not simply by patrilineal descent, or even close blood relationship, and that *ha'a* are not lineages by the usual definition.
20. See Figure 2.
21. According to my informants, Nuku was the younger brother of the 6th Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua, not his "son," as Gifford (1929: 36) states.
22. The name originated on an occasion when the three of them were wrapped in a mat and resembled one man with three heads.
23. Kanokupolu is the name of a village on the western end of Tongatapu. The word itself means "flesh of Upolu," which refers to the tradition that the mother of Ngata was from Upolu, Samoa.
24. The title Tungi is presently vacant; the last Tungi is now King Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV.
25. Cross-cousin marriage (*kite tama*) was not prescribed, proscribed, or preferred, but was occasionally practiced among the highest chiefs to prevent social repercussions that might result if a Tu'i were outranked by a collateral line. The traditional incest rules seem to have been that one could marry his third cousin (*mokopuna tolu*), and cross-cousin marriage was not a perceived alternate in choosing a mate. Rather, cross-cousin

60: Kaeppler E-5 (1964-1967) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

as a back rest during the coronation of the 'Tu'i Kanokupolu at a place called Havelu in the village of Kanokupolu.

The second part of Stanza 10 ends the poem by telling us that the reason for the poetry is the commemoration of the great deeds of the chiefly ancestors of the present King, such as the retrieval of Sangone's shell and the distribution of land. It is such deeds that elevated the chiefs of old, and it is their descendants who are today's chiefs, responsible for leading the people and making possible celebrations such as the one during which this *lakalaka* is performed. The celebration (*katoanga*) is referred to in the words "there are many people at *vaha' akolo*" (the area that divides two villages at the place where the palace stands). Line 53, a stylized statement borrowed from an ancient dance type (*fa'ahiula*), refers to the stringing of pandanus keys for a necklace worn by high chiefs at celebrations. The second part of this stanza, then, brings us back to the present and acknowledges the high position of the chiefs to whom the people owe their allegiance. This is the closing counterpart of the *fakatapu* in Stanza 2.

The preoccupation with genealogy, apparent in the poetry, reflects the importance of ancestry in the Tongan social system. On the social level all titles and property are validated by appealing to genealogy, and on an everyday level all interpersonal relationships are determined by the genealogies of the persons involved. The structure of the poetry also pays strict attention to the rules of Tongan etiquette, which also is based on a hierarchical ranking of persons. The *fakatapu* (Stanza 2) must acknowledge the presence of chiefs and people of high rank; and the ending must again refer to the chiefs by bringing attention back to them. It is a stylized way for the *lakalaka* to ask for permission to speak, and after having spoken, again defer to the chiefs.

The story, then—that of Sangone in this case—is really secondary and is used as a vehicle for presenting the real object of the poetry and its accompanying dance: to pay allegiance to the established order of Tongan society.

The poetry can be interpreted in many different ways and on many different levels. This paper suggests only a few of the many possible meanings. Many of the references are quite obscure and hidden in rhetoric and metaphorical language. Even the performers seldom know the meaning of what they are performing. They know that the references are to chiefs, but the actual stories and circumstances are known only to other poets who deal in similar Tongan lore, and sometimes to the choreographer, who may be given an explanation by the poet who composed it. The interpretation given here is a composite of information given to me by several individuals, including dancers who knew only a few of the references, a ceremonial attendant (*matāpule*) who helps to teach the dance and explained the obscure references in Stanza 7, and a woman employed in the Palace office who knew the meaning of Stanza 8. Only the Honorable Ve'ehala, keeper of the Palace records, knew the meanings of Hau-o-Momo, Tangoipomana, the reference to *'ika moana*, and the meaning of Stanza 9. Ve'ehala, however, is a prolific poet who has written *lakalaka* poetry for his own village as well as official *lakalakas* for the Tongan government.

The performance of the poetry with dance accompaniment is usually on state occasions, as a "gift" to the Palace, along with first fruits or on other food giving occasions, as a farewell or welcome for one of the royal family, for local celebra-

64: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1976 009 Tonga 009

this will be an indication that the basic fabric of their culture and society has shifted.

NOTES

1. This is a revised version of a paper presented at the Third Annual Meeting of the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania (March 13-17, 1974) for a Symposium on "Alcohol and Kava Use in the Pacific Islands." Research was conducted in Tonga from July to October of 1970 and from August to October of 1971. In the intervening months archival research was conducted in the major libraries of Fiji, New Zealand, and Australia, with most of the research being done in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia.
2. There is at least one other alcohol-dispensing club in the Kingdom, namely the "Vava'u Club" in Vava'u. Since my work in Tonga a new hotel has opened in Vava'u, and alcohol prices probably follow the prices of the hotels on Tongatapu. It should be pointed out that in 1970 and 1971 the various clubs and hotels were selling beverages in obvious violation of Tonga's "Blue Laws" which (theoretically) forbid essentially all non-religious business activities on Sundays.
3. For further information on rank and title see Urbanowicz 1973.114.
4. Tongans not only presented *kava* roots to important individuals but also took *kava* roots on visits to important places. The Wesleyan Missionary W. Cross, in the islands from 1827 to 1833 and again from 1834 to 1835, pointed this out: "The [Tongan] Chief observed that on former occasions when they visited and [*sic.*] island it was their custom to take large pieces of *kava* for the gods; and that to Nomuka alone they used to take at least 10 pieces" (Cross 1830b).
5. A similar detailed description from Hobbs supports the idea of title removal and land distribution at a kava ceremony: "A 'fai Kava' i.e. meeting for drinking Kava took place at Nuku'alofa on Tuesday the 18th at which [Josaia] Tubou presided of course as the Tui-kanokubolu. Taufa-ahou [also known as King George Tupou] and all the other principal persons were there, and word was sent to Lavaka at the Bea to come and attend before our people and Taufa-ahou left the Island, but Lavaka [still] refused. The ceremony therefore proceeded without Lavaka. THE PRINCIPAL OBJECT OF THE KAVA MEETING WAS TO STATE OFFICIALLY FROM THE TUI-KANOKUBOLU WHO WAS THE[N] [TO] OCCUPY THE GOVERNMENT IN THE DIFFERENT DISTRICTS IN TONGA since the rebellion; and the principal things affected by this appointment are as follows: Old Fatu who was the 1st heathen [or non-Wesleyan] chief who submitted, and who had now come to Nukualofa to the Tui-kanokubolu has got a considerable augmentation of his power in being appointed Tui-Hahake. OLD LAVAKA IS OFFICIALLY DEPRIVED OF ALL HIS POWER BY THE APPOINTMENT OF OLD SEMI AND TOKE as Tuihaamea, because the fortress at the Bea stands in Haamea" [all STRESS added] (Hobbs *Journal*: April 22, 1837).
6. I witnessed a *Taumata kava* ceremony on the island of 'Eua over the period 14 September to 17 September, 1971, having travelled to the island with the royal part on *H.M.T. Kao*. Enroute to 'Eua from the island of Tongatapu, a journey of some four hours, I was fortunate to have approximately a three hour and forty-five minute private discussion with His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV (on just about everything under the Tongan sun, including *kava*). Much of my thinking about *kava* has been influenced by my discussions with His Majesty AS WELL AS by numerous discussions with other Tongans, of all ranks. I also took part in numerous kava ceremonies in Tonga occasionally where I was treated as the guest of honor.
7. The *'inasi* ceremony was not only an important ceremony in aboriginal Tongan society but it also had parallels in other parts of Polynesia (Goldman 1970:134; and Sahlins 1958:24-25). The Tongans were a horticultural people and indeed, today, agriculture along with "tourism" are the mainstays of the Tongan economy. The yam

123 tion and fosterage, and interpersonal relationships generally.

125 Early in the research period a census of the village was conducted to obtain demographic information including data on housing, landholding status, and dominant economic pursuits for each household in the village.

124 123 Information on exchange events was collected by using formal survey techniques, but I might indicate here that survey research would have been difficult without first establishing myself as a rather consistent and benign part of the village milieu.[1] A A Participant-observation also allowed me to observe much of the material I recorded through the surveys and thereby provided an informal check on reliability and validity of that information.[2] B A

124 I do not pretend that the data on exchange events are perfectly accurate or representative of all exchanges. For instance, I know that informants failed to mention many exchange events which involved small, and what they considered to be insignigicant, items such as coconuts, salt, water and a number of other items; this was particularly true early in the research period. In fact, one household head was removed from the sample because he consistently gave information on only the exchange of large, prestigious items. Two others had to be deleted because of their absence during the research period.

114 122 124 During research an assistant acted as interpreter when necessary and provided valuable assistance in arranging transportation, interviews, and in establishing rapport with informants. I had two assistants during two different periods and found both to be willing and

114 115 A.B.[For footnotes, see p. 122--Analyst]
A A

114 capable helpers, who were themselves constantly available as informants.
115
122 My own lack of competence in the Tongan language was a limiting
[124] factor but I was able to conduct inquiry into certain area in Tongan,
[125] primarily kinship and exchange, and I could administer the survey questionnaires. Only two of the adults in the village had any degree
[124] of competence in English, and both were usually unavailable as interpreters or informants.

121 The village I chose in which to conduct the study was selected primarily because of its convenient location and relatively small size.[3] A
A Puke is a typical of Tongatapu villages as it includes many recent immigrants from relatively isolated areas of the Kingdom, and can be generally described as one of the less developed villages. However, these characteristics of the village were only known in retrospect and it was not chosen because of them.

A.[For footnote, see p. 122--Analyst]
A

74: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1978
(ca. 1800-1850)
OU9 Tonga OU9

127 Mrs. Dorothy J. Reid of the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington. I would also like to thank the Trustees of the Alexander Turnbull Library for permission to work with and cite their materials. Elsewhere in New Zealand, I would like to thank Miss Janet M. Davidson of the Auckland War Memorial Museum, Auckland; Dr. Roger Duff, Director, Canterbury Museum, Christchurch; and the staff that assisted me at the libraries associated with the University of Canterbury, Christchurch; Victoria University, Wellington; and the University of Auckland.

Outside of New Zealand, my appreciation goes to the staff of the Sir Alport Barker Memorial Library, Suva, Fiji; my thanks also for the courtesies extended me by Mr. Ian Diamond, Chief Archivist of the Central Archives of Fiji and the Western Pacific High Commission, Suva, Fiji. I thank Mrs. Judith Reed, Librarian of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum Library in Honolulu, Hawai'i for her tremendous assistance, both in person and through the mails; my appreciation also goes to Miss R. Renee Heyum, Pacific Curator of the Sinclair Library, University of Hawai'i, Honolulu, Hawai'i.

101 In 1970 and again in 1971 research was conducted in Tonga, and I
115 thank His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV for the many hours of his
115 time which he gave so freely to my wife and myself. Also in Tonga, I must thank the Hon. Kalanivalu-Fotofili, aide-de-camp to His Majesty; I appreciate all of the information The Hon. Ve'ehala, Governor of Ha'apai Islands, provided me. My thanks also go to The Hon. Dr. S. L. Kavaliku, Minister of Education and Public Works, for the time he gave to me; my

115 thanks also go to The Hon. Fielakepa for his information so freely
122 shared. I thank the staff of the Palace Office, for the working space they gave me and for the tea and gossip they shared with me. Special thanks go to Mr. M. E. Tonga, Personal Secretary to His Majesty; to Mr. F. Haketi Tongalava and Mrs. Tupou Posesi Fanua of the Komiti Talafakafonua 'o Tonga, the Tongan Traditions Committee. Part of the research in Tonga would have been impossible without the tremendous assistance I received from Haketi and Tupou.

000 For other Tongan assistance and courtesies I would like to thank Kato and Jack Riechelmann for everything they did for us; thanks also to Lealofi Manu, Heku Taufa, Mele Taufa, Pongi Pongi, Ulla, Maliana, Tolofi, Ernie, and Lausii. I would also like to thank the following people for their kindness and generous assistance in Tonga: David Riechelmann, Jean and Robbie Robertson, Alan and Sisi Riechelmann, Charles Preti, Bob and Ruby Wallbank, Didi and 'Onelua Wendt, Joe
[115] Tu'ilatai Mataele, Ray Maile Mataele, and Halaevalu Mataele. My thanks also to the Rev. Dr. Sione 'Amanaki Havea for all of his information, the Rev. H. G. Cummins, and Father D. W. Mullins. Thanks also to Mrs. J. Frank McLaughlin, 'Ana Pannai, the matapule Vakalahi and the people of Fahefa village on Tongatapu. Thanks also to Mr. Mike D. Monti
122 and Mr. G. Suttle. In Vava'u, my appreciation goes to Mrs. Patricia Matheson (nee Patricia Ledyard) for the courtesies she extended to my wife and me while we were guests at her home.

000 In Western Samoa, my appreciation and thanks to Mrs. Alistair L. Hutchison, a gracious lady and a wealth of information of Samoan life;

76: Yuncker N-4,5 (1953) 1959 OU9 Tonga OU9

The conspicuous and apparently well-established cultigens, as well as introduced weedy species, were either collected or noted and are, for the most part, included, as I believe that such information is of value in helping formulate a proper concept of the flora of any region. So far as I know, many of these introduced or migrant species are covered in no previous report on the Tongan flora.

In this work, 49 lower cryptogams, 71 pteridophytes, and 630 spermatophytes are recognized, making a total of 750 species and varieties.

The late Sir Peter Buck, then Director of Bishop Museum, originally suggested the desirability of a botanical survey of Tonga and assisted in the preliminary plans. The government of Tonga was interested in the project and, through Prince Tungi, rendered aid in every way possible. Mr. Willy Straatmans, Director of the Department of Agriculture, was most helpful in arranging for transportation between the islands, for living quarters in government rest houses, and for local transportation by land-rover on the islands of Tongatapu and Vava'u.

I was fortunate in obtaining the assistance of W. Toluta'u Ha'angana, a member of the Tongan department of agriculture staff, who served as chief assistant for the entire period of the work. "Tolu" proved to be a most intelligent and cooperative assistant at all times, and his knowledge of Tongan plants was considerable. Most of the local names given in this report were supplied by him, as well as the information about the uses made of the plants by the Tongan people. On many occasions his explanation for our presence on plantations or other private property of suspicious owners unable to understand English smoothed the way and avoided trouble. His agility in procuring drinking coconuts was likewise much appreciated.

Tongans do not always distinguish between closely related plants and sometimes apply the same name to more than one species. Also, occasionally the same name is given to widely different species, leading one to suspect that some names are erroneous. Such presumed errors were checked as far as possible and, if obviously wrong, eliminated. Where two or more names have been supplied for a given species, the one believed to be more commonly used is listed first.

In the identification of the collections I am greatly indebted to a number of specialists. The fleshy fungi were identified by Dr. J. A. Stevenson; the liverworts, by Dr. Margaret Fulford; the lichens, by Dr. Carroll W. Dodge; the mosses, by Mr. E. B. Bartram, who also furnished the description of the new species; the description of the new *Podocarpus*, by Mrs. Netta Gray; the pteridophytes (excepting *Selaginella*), by Mr. C. V. Morton; *Selaginella*, by Mr. A. H. G. Alston; the grasses, by Dr. J. R. Swallen; the orchids, by Mr. Charles Schweinfurth; *Ficus*, by Mr. W. J. H. Corner; *Pipturus* and *Santalum*, by Dr. Carl Skottsberg; certain members of the Apocynaceae, by

77: Whitcombe Y-3 (no date) 1930 OU9 Tonga OU9

NOTES ON TONGAN ETHNOLOGY

By J. D. WHITCOMBE [1]

HOUSE-BUILDING

The framework of a native house is made of coconut palms thinned down to the sizes required. First the roof (*kahoki* or *sa*) is made; then the thin ribs (*aonui*) which run from end to end of the house. For the ceiling, heavier beams (*lalago*) are used; there may be two or four of these, depending upon the size of the house. Resting on the four house posts are two cross beams (*apa*), also of heavy coconut wood.

Coconut wood is not used for the house posts. A stronger tree, such as the *koka*, the *filimoto*, the *gesi*, or the *bounuli* usually is chosen. When the house posts have been erected, the ceiling beams strongly bound with *kafa* put in place, and the ribs for the roof attached, the structure is ready for roof and sides. The roof is usually thatched with coconut leaves or with *au* (a plant closely resembling the sugar cane). The leaves of the *au* do not rot as do those of sugar cane, and they withstand the weather so well that houses thatched with *au* have been known to last as long as fourteen years. The young *au* leaves (*ho au*) are threaded on split *kaho* sticks to make the thatch (*tui au*) which is tied to the roof ribs from the inside with *kafa*. The *tui au* is placed one row upon another, starting from the lower part of the roof and working toward the top. A mat *tapakau* made of the very young leaf of the coconut palm is placed under the thatch at the edge of the roof to catch the leaks. This serves as a rain spout (*tali tulutulu*). The roof is completed with a capping of coconut leaves, which are always used even though the thatching is done with *au*. The leaves are plaited, four usually being sufficient to cap a house.

The sides of most houses are made of coconut leaves or of *kaho* sticks. If coconut leaves are used they are first split and trimmed, then plaited and finally bound with *kafa* to the framework. The

[1] The notes and vocabularies included in the following pages have been collected by Mr. J. D. Whitcombe, at one time Head of the Mission School at Mua, Tongatabu, but now of Devonport, Auckland, New Zealand. Most of the material has been gathered by Mr. Whitcombe from original sources, but some of it has been translated from manuscripts submitted by native students who were able by word of mouth to get from the old inhabitants first-hand information about the early customs and traditions of the Tongans. The material is presented here in the form of miscellaneous notes with the idea of making available to students of Tongan ethnology information which, though incomplete and scattered, may prove valuable for reference.

78: Weiner N-4,5 (1969) 1972
OU9 Tonga OU9

learned that I had been granted an audience with King Tupou IV at the Royal Palace in Nuku'alofa, and he made a public announcement about my presence and the nature of my work. As a result of this unexpected publicity, several people with information about plant medicines came to see me at the Beach House. These remedies were copied by Mrs. Olga Moa of Vava'u from a manuscript written by her deceased mother. King Tupou thought that this lady was very knowledgeable in Tongan medicine and suggested that I contact her daughter, Mrs. Moa, as I have done.

Through the kind efforts of a United States Peace Corps volunteer who had been living in Tofoa Village for nearly two years I was introduced to a practitioner in that village who spent many days with me, showing me plants and describing their medical uses.

During the course of my short three-month stay on Tongatapu I believe that I interviewed all of the well-known and some of the lesser-known practitioners. Some of these people chose not to divulge their names. I include here a list of those informants whose names I learned and who were responsible for much of the material on medicinal plants and their uses contained in this study.

Mu'a:

Violet Tatola
(An experienced practitioner.) Plants and medical uses.

Siafoou Tatola
(Daughter of Violet and teacher in the mission school.) Field work, translation, discussion.

Mumui Tatola
(Son of Violet, trained in Fiji at the medical school and at the East-West Center in Hawaii; a practicing medical officer at the Government Hospital, Nuku'alofa.) Translation, discussion.

Muasika Fakahafua
Plants and medical uses.

Nuku'alofa:

'Anitelu Fielea
(Agricultural Officer.) Field work, discussions.

[p.435-A]

78: Weiner N-4,5 (1969) 1972
OU9 Tonga OU9

115 Tohi Ha'angana
(Agricultural Officer. Assistant to T. G. Yuncker when he was collecting in Tonga.) Field work, discussions, medical uses of plants.

Preben Kauffmann (Tavi)
(Expatriate from Denmark, 17 years in Tonga, friend of King Tupou IV and integral member of his community. Vegetarian.) Plants and medical uses.

Latu Toili
(Driver for Medical Department.) Plants and medical uses.

Te'ekiu Village:

Amato Uia
(A renowned practitioner with 45 years experience.) Medical uses of plants and discussions.

128 A total of 91 remedies were recorded. Included in these remedies were 59 different species of plants used by at least two different informants. References to an additional 17 species of reputed value but not met with in the field are included from the literature (29).

124 The general procedure for gathering data consisted of interviewing informants in their villages. With the aid of an interpreter, data were gathered in four categories. Tongan name of the plant, the part utilized in preparing the medicine, the illness, and the preparation, dosage, and administration. Where the informant was agreeable, a walk through the village or surrounding "bush" usually allowed collection of described plant specimens. In the few cases where the informant was either too busy or too infirm to accompany the investigator, the described plants were collected under the guidance of a direct relative or friend familiar with the habitat.

In some cases it was necessary to collect the described species with the aid of an agricultural officer, going only by Tongan plant names. Although this method is open to doubt in other regions of the Pacific because of variations in dialects, the Tongan language is constant as far as plant names are concerned. There are variations on descriptive names, but all base names of plants encountered were identical from one informant to another. This was verified through repeated checking.

[p.435-B]

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

121 from various informants in Tonga during my field trip there from November 1964 to February 1965. I am deeply indebted to the 126 Hon. Ve'ehala, Keeper of the Palace Records and Secretary of the Traditional Committee, for the wealth of information he kindly 115 gave me in answer to my inquiries. Thanks are also due to the following informants: Tu'i'āfitu of Makave, Vava'u; the late Fe'iloakitau Kaho and the late Sione Filipe Tongilava of Kolofo'ou; the late Molitoni Fīnau of Nukunuku, 'Uhatafe of Mu'a, Siola'ā Soakai of Hihifo, Ha'apai, and many others, particularly my father, the late Siosiua 'Alopī Lātūkefu of Kolovai, who so generously gave of their time.

To Dr W. N. Gunson of the Department of Pacific History, 128 Australian National University, I owe an immeasurable debt, and it is impossible to convey fully the extent of his patient guidance and encouragement throughout the preparation of my thesis which formed the basis of this book. I also wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to the late Professor J. W. Davidson for the generous support given to me by his Department and for his invaluable criticisms of certain aspects of the manuscripts; to Mr Harry Maude, Dr Francis West, Dr Dorothy Shineberg and Dr Deryck Scarr, who at all times showed their readiness to discuss and criticise this work; to Dr Alaric Maude and Dr Noel Rutherford, both students of Tongan geography and history, who read portions of this manuscript and offered valuable suggestions. Thanks are also due to Professor D. J. N. Denoon of the History Department, University of Papua New Guinea, who has read the whole manuscript and made very useful comments.

I would also like to express my thanks to Mrs Coral Wong and Mrs Joan Stephenson of Port Moresby, who carried out the task of typing and preparing this manuscript; and to my wife Ruth for her devoted, untiring assistance and moral support during the preparation of this book. Thanks also to Lotte and 'Alopī who had to put up with their parents' preoccupation with this work.

Lastly, with deep gratitude and affection, I wish to express 115 my great indebtedness to Her Majesty, the late Queen Sālote Tupou of Tonga, for her gracious interest and invaluable help in this work. I was deeply privileged and greatly honoured by an invitation, which she extended to me, to spend four weeks with her

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

in February and March 1965, at "Atalanga' in Auckland, where she was receiving medical treatment. In spite of her serious illness, she was determined to impart to me her wealth of knowledge of the Tongan traditional past. I only hope that the outcome of this study is worthy of her patronage. 115

S. L.

Port Moresby
1973

[p. xii is blank]

81: Bott E,P-4,5 (no date) 1972 OU9 Tonga OU9

the differences between one type of kava ceremony and another. I think this process of exploration is analogous to the use of patients' associations to dreams.

In the course of talking around the ceremony several informants told me the myth of the origin of kava, which proved to be a useful lead. I recorded two versions of the myth and there are others in the literature (Gifford, 1924, pp. 71–5). Their points of similarity and difference helped to clarify the central theme of the myth but I only have time for one version, which is the one recorded by the late Queen Sālote.

THE MYTH OF THE ORIGIN OF KAVA

One day the King of Tonga went fishing with a friend. They did not catch anything, and as they were tired and hungry they called in at the little island of 'Eueiki to get something to eat. At that time there was only one couple living on the island and they had one child, a daughter, whose name was Kava'onau. (In some versions the name is abbreviated to 'Kava'.) She had leprosy. It was a time of famine and the only food the couple had left was a large kape plant (Alocasia macrorrhiza) which stood near the beach. When the King landed he sat down to rest against this plant. When the couple realized who their guest was they set about making an earth oven, but when they came to get their sole remaining food plant they could not use it because the King was leaning on it. The King's friend saw the couple hit something in their house and bring it out to be baked in the earth oven. He saw that they had killed their daughter because they had nothing else to give their King. The King's friend told the King what the couple had done. The King was deeply moved by their sacrifice. He rose up immediately and returned to the main island, telling the couple to bury their child properly.

Two plants grew from the grave, one from the head and one from the foot. One day the couple saw a mouse bite the

82: Leach E-4 (no date) 1972 OU9 Tonga OU9

However I must, even at this point, intrude a special note of ethnographic caution which stems from known facts about the details of Tongan institutions. Bott's principal informant was the ruling monarch of Tonga, Queen Salote, son's daughter's son's daughter of King George I who assumed the powers of a constitutional monarch of the British type in 1845. In pre-European times there was no such unified office, though the dignitary known as the Tu'i Tonga might reasonably have been described as the 'ritual king'. In the early part of the nineteenth century the most powerful chiefs, in a political sense, were those who held the title of Tu'i Kanokupolu, and King George I was one of these. At this period, before 1845, the titles of Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Haa Takalaua were both notionally 'superior' to that of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, but King George I obliterated these titles and since his day they have not been employed. However, in 1865, on the death of the last properly entitled Tu'i Tonga, King George I went through a ritual whereby he himself formally assumed the office and prerogatives of the Tu'i Tonga, so that he would seem to have *absorbed* the office of Tu'i Tonga rather than to have *abolished* it (see Gifford, 1929, pp. 60, 86, 93, 98). Now, since Queen Salote's 'proper' title was that of Tu'i Kanokupolu, it might appear that the 'royal kava' that Bott observed and which is discussed in the following pages was the 'kava of the Tu'i Kanokupolu'. On the other hand the mythology that justifies this ceremony and forms the main subject matter of this paper is plainly appropriate to the 'kava of the Tu'i Tonga' rather than to that of the Tu'i Kanokupolu. It may be relevant therefore that Queen Salote could, by a fiction, have claimed the prerogatives of either title. It also seems relevant that, for several generations prior to 1845, the Tu'i Tonga had regularly been married off to the daughter of the Tu'i Kanokupolu and a son of this marriage had regularly succeeded as the next Tu'i Tonga. Thus, at this period, the holder of the Tu'i Tonga title was not only the son of a previous Tu'i Tonga, he was also the daughter's son of a previous Tu'i Kanokupolu (see *Figure 1*, p. 244)

114 I am also indebted to both Mr. Edwin H. Bryan of the Information Service of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum in Honolulu, who assisted me in obtaining valuable archival data, and Dr. Robert F. Thorne of the Rancho Santa Ana Botanic Garden of Claremont College, who helped in the identification of botanical specimens.

122 Special thanks goes to the National Science Foundation for financial assistance and to the Minister of Lands, the Honorable Laufilitonga Tuita, the Prime Minister, His Royal Highness Prince Fatefehi Tu'ipelehake, and, His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV, who granted me personal audiences and allowed me to conduct my research in Tonga.

128 I also wish to thank Zail Coffman and Francis Evanisko of the University of California, Santa Barbara and Ramesh Chandran of the University of the South Pacific, who drew many of the maps from my manuscript copies, Elizabeth Mendly, who typed the first draft in Santa Barbara, and to Sheila Raj, who helped with the second draft and Susana Yabaki, Akata Patiaki and Kiran Sharma, who typed the final draft.

115 128 Special thanks is also due to my mother-in-law, Mele Helu, whose Tongan cooking, hospitality and timely explanations of uses of plants and cultural features gave me considerable insight into the Tongan way of life, to my good friends and colleagues, Jack Estes and Les Senger of the Geography Department, University of California, Santa Barbara and Cros Walsh of the Geography Department at the

115 University of the South Pacific, Suva, Fiji, who helped both
128 in editing and in relieving me of some other responsibilities, which allowed me to devote time to completing this dissertation.

123 Deep gratitude and thanks is extended to the countless farmers, market vendors and other Tongans who, through their understanding, their cheerfulness and their willingness to share part of their lives and cultural hertage with me, made the research in Tonga one of the most enjoyable and enlightening years of my life.

128 Last but not least, is the deep appreciation I have
114 for the help and understanding given unselfishly by my wife Konai, who, despite her heavy involvement in her own studies, teaching responsibilities and poetry writing, proof read countless pages, helped in the drawing of maps and gathering field data, and most of all, gave me encouragement and moral support throughout the past four years.

000 Finally, none of the above are responsible for any shortcomings in this work. I am alone responsible for the work which follows and for any inaccuracies which may be present.

94: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1976
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

NOTE

* This is a slightly revised version of a paper presented at the Symposium on Demographic Studies of Small Populations held at the Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Washington D.C., November 20, 1976. I thank Kathy Adams, Lee Lefferts, and Fred Korn for valuable discussion while I was preparing the paper. 114

Fieldwork in Tonga was supported by an International Fellowship from the American Association of University Women, and this support is gratefully acknowledged. I also wish to thank the Government of Tonga under His Majesty King Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV for permission to conduct fieldwork. Particular thanks are due to the people of the village I have called "Motulahi" for tolerating my enquiries, and I have done what I can in reporting my findings to protect their privacy. For this reason I cannot name those to whom I am especially grateful. However, I do wish to acknowledge my special debt to Vai T, the person who assisted me in conducting the household survey discussed in the paper. 122 114 115

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104: Hornell E,N-5 (1925) 1927 0U9 Tonga 0U9

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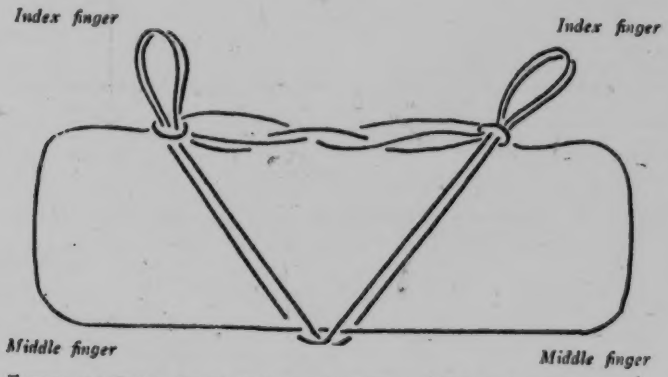
STRING FIGURES FROM TONGA

PILITALEIKU

1. Opening A.

2. Insert the index fingers from the distal side into the little finger loops, pick up on their dorsal sides the little finger ulnar strings and return to the original position.

3. Join the tips of the index finger and thumb of each hand and slip the thumb loops on to the index over these joined tips. Return to position.



[115]

FIGURE 51.—String figure, *pilitaleiku* (*pilitaciku*) (tailless lizard), learned from Mrs. Jiojiana Lupe, Tongatabu, Tonga.

4. Rotate the index fingers in the ulnar direction, catching up in their course on their palmar sides, the little finger radials and continue the full rotation to position.

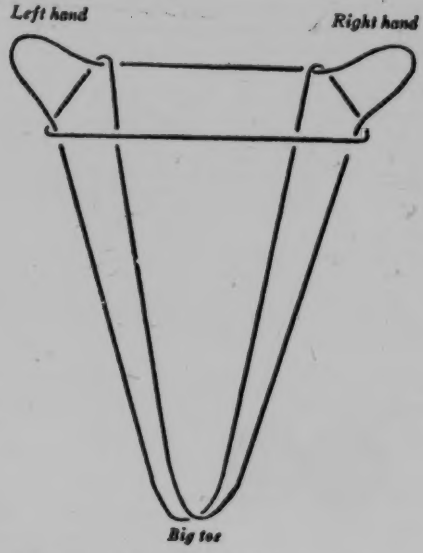
5. Place the tip of each thumb against the tip of the adjoining index and transfer the index loops to the thumbs by slipping them over the conjoined tips.

6. Rotate the index fingers in the ulnar direction, pick up on their palmar sides the little finger ulnar strings; continue the rotation and thrust the index fingers into the thumb loops from the distal side, reverse the rotation to the radial direction and pick up on their dorsal sides the double thumb ulnar strings, continuing the rotation back to position. Release the thumb loops.

104: Hornell E,N-5 (1925) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

524 then, turning the hands first downwards and then towards one another, pass them again through the loop and bring them up. A loop now passes twice across the back of each wrist and once across the inner side.

3. Bend the hands down and catch with the index finger and thumb of each hand the loop crossing the upper surface of the big toe at two points. Pull up this loop as far as possible, running the cord through the fingers as the hands draw apart, and allowing the wrist loops to slip off, over the strings that are being pulled up with the fingers.



[115] FIGURE 56.—String figure, *ipu sioata* (drinking glass) learned from a native girl at Neiafu, Vavau Island.

SECOND PART

A continuation of this figure was carried out by the same girl, similar to the Fijian *mawa* (fig. 38), which is also begun by some players with this *ipu sioata* opening. The second part of *matamata kupenga* (fig. 58) is likewise sometimes worked from the resultant figure as this is similar in its meshing, though the finger holds are different.

104: Hornell E,N-5 (1925) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

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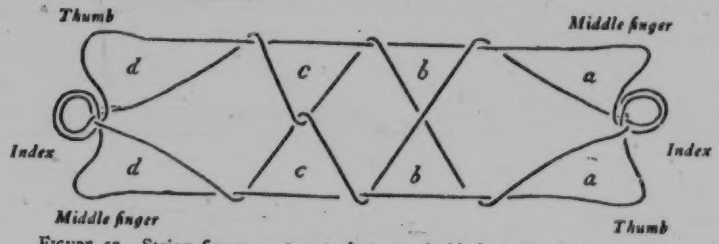
MATAMATA KUPENGA

First Part

1. Opening A.
2. Release the little finger loops.
3. Transfer the thumb loops to the index fingers by passing the latter into the loops proximal, and withdrawing the thumbs.
4. Pass the thumb of right hand over the proximal index radial string and under the proximal index ulnar, and return with it; the same with the left thumb.
5. Repeat the operation with the distal index strings.
6. Pass the middle fingers over the distal and under the proximal



[115]

FIGURE 57.—String figure, *matamata kupenga* (spider's web), first part. Learned from a woman in Neiafu, Vavau Island.

index radials and return to position with the index radials upon their backs.

7. Navaho the thumbs.
8. Turn the left hand inwards until the palm is upwards. The figure will appear as shown in figure 57.

Second Part

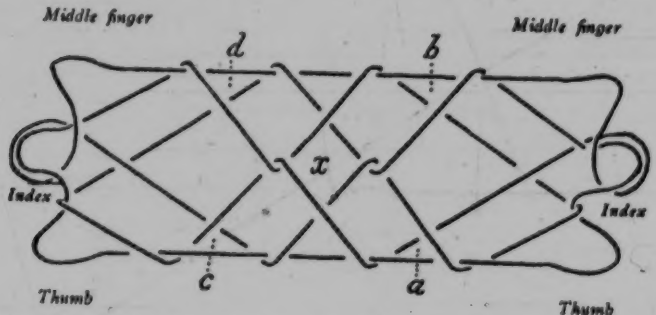
The game is continued by a second player who passes from above his little fingers into the triangular spaces *a*, *a*, immediately adjacent to the middle finger and thumb of the first player's right hand, and his thumbs into the triangular marginal spaces *b*, *b*, also from above, and then raises them from below through the adjoining triangular spaces *c*, *c*; afterwards the little fingers which have already passed from above through *a*, *a*, are brought up from below through spaces *d*, *d*, which are those through which the left thumb and middle finger of first player pass respectively. The second player then lifts the figure from off his companion's fingers and extends it on his own little fingers and thumbs. This gives the "spider's web" figure as shown in figure 58.

104: Hornell E,N-5 (1925) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

S24 6. Navaho the thumbs and release the distal index loops by slipping them over the index tips.

7. Transfer the thumb loops to the index fingers, passing the latter from below into the thumb loops.

8. Repeat movement 5.



[115] FIGURE 59.—String figure, *loukabe* (kabe leaf), learned from a Tongan girl at Neiafou, Vavau Island.

9. Pass the middle fingers distal to the two index ulnar strings, into the index loops, hook up upon their tip, the proximal index radial strings and return.

10. Navaho the thumbs.

11. Release the little finger loops and extend, turning the palms downwards into a horizontal position.

S24 171 The *loukabe* figure is identical both in working and result with the Caroline Islands "ten men," and also with the Maori *tonga raurepe* save in the earlier moves where there is notable difference. There seemed a S24 192 171 probability that the name *raurepe* was a variant of *laukape*, especially as it is prefixed by the adjective "*tonga*." But Andersen (1, vol. 4, p. 247) says that *tonga raurepe* is the name of an ancester of the Maori tribe called Ngati-Porou, and is restricted thereto. Among the Whanganui tribes it is called *tara kai kape*, the *kape* again suggestive of close relationship with Tonga.

This figure and its sequences are also similar to the Marquesan *koukape* and the Society Islands *firi rau anani*. The Marquesan name of *koukape* is suspiciously like the Tongan *loukabe*, but Handy (10, p. 8) states that *koukape* signifies the intestinal mesentery, and also the name of a fish given as medicine to a woman after childbirth. She adds that it had an old-time magical significance. The use of *kape* or *kabe* in the

105: Vaea & Straatmans G,I-3 (no date) 1954
OU9 Tonga OU9

PRELIMINARY REPORT* ON A FISHERIES SURVEY IN TONGA

By
HON. VAEA, Inspector of Agriculture
and
W. STRAATMANS, Head of Department of Agriculture.

INTRODUCTION.

WE are indebted to Mr. M. Muller, retired Acting Agricultural Officer. Apart from the information laid down in this report, which was mainly collected by interrogation of fishermen, he contributed much of his own knowledge about local fisheries.

More could have been added to complete the record if, besides interrogation, we have investigated fishing methods in the field and if we had inspected fishing gears on the spot. This, however, would have delayed the issue of this first compilation which we prefer to circulate as a preliminary report. There are several reasons why this was considered preferable, i.e.:—

(a) To make the first information available to fisheries experts and to fisheries experiment stations abroad;

(b) To receive advice as to what suggestions can be obtained to improve on the methods of Tongan fisheries and fish processing;

(c) To enable more local fisheries experts—not yet contacted—to add to this record all what is still worth mentioning.

CONTENTS.

1. COMMUNITY FISHING.
(a) Pola; (b) Faka'uvea; (c) Uloa; (d) Tolo; (e) Tuotua; (f) Ta 'atu.

2. TRAP FISHING.
(a) Moka; (b) Fish Fence.

* The substance of this paper was presented as a lecture by the author to the Palmerston North Polynesian Discussion Group.